INDIANAPOLIS, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1874.

## THE TALL SYCAMORE.

VOORHEES AND MORTON.

THE DEMOCRATIC CLARION ANSWERS THE REPUBLICAN KEY NOTE.

THE PINANCES DISCUSSED-MORTON'S RECORD OR REPUBLATION-TEMPERANCE AND CIVIL RIGHTS-CHEAP TRANSPORTATION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:-When I last had the honor to address my neighbors and friends in this city, it was in response to a call made irrespective of party, and in company with my esteemed friend and distinguished political opponent, Col. R. W. Thompson. The meeting was an earnest appeal to the congress of the United States for financial relief, and it embraced the business and laboring men of every shade of political opinion in this community It was in the earlier days of the financial panic which in the earlier days of the financial panic which all fondly hoped would soon pass away, leaving to the various branches of busines; and labor their usual vitality and prosperity. Six months later, however, and we meet to night with no perceptible improvement. The same scarcity of money for the people, the same paralysis of trade among merchants and mechanics, the same difficulty on the part of laborers in obtaining remunerative labor are still painfully apparent; n all sides. The only change is, that in view of the approaching election, the questions, so vital to all, are now to be considered and discussed by the two great political organizations. I trust, nevertheless, that they may be considered by us and by the people of the whole country only in friendly and patriotic spirit, with a single aim to confer the greatest good upon the greatest number.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN THE TWO

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In the first paragraph of Senator Morton's speech of July 31, in this city, he arraigned the democratic party for entertaining different views in different States on the finances and other public issues. This seemed to him so grave an offense that he placed it in his opening chapter. In sounding his promised key note he began by uning on this string. I have no wish to disguise, if I could, the fact that there are marked differences of opinion among individ-ual democrats on the financial question. I freely admit that it may take the authority of a na-tional convention to produce the entire harmony that is desirable in our ranks. But what shall be said of the unfathomable assurance which was necessary to enable Senator Morton, in view of the condition of his own party, to make such of the condition of his own party, to make such an accusation against his opponents? Take the six States of New England, and add to them the great States of New York and Pennsylvania, thus comprising the controlling forces both in talent and wealth of the entire republican party, and Senator Morton has not friends enough in them to procure for him an invitation from the republican organization of any one of these republican organization of any one of these States to deliver the financial views he did here. He speaks for his party in Indiana, but he could not speak for a single county in single county in He is not only opposed by the republican organizations and the republican press of the entire East, but he is solidly, and, I had almost said contemptuously, confronted and defeated in his figureal ideas confronted and defeated in his figureal ideas and labors by his own republican president. Indeed, the grim reference made by the senator to the president in this connection is one of the amusing curiosities of political literature. He fairly states the president's position as contained in his message at the opening of the last session of congress; then proceeds to show that he labored all the winter to carry out the principles of the executive by legislation, and after demonstrating that he was successful in principles of the executive by legislation, and after demonstrating that he was successful in his efforts by the passage of his favorite bill he simply says: "This bill was vetoed by the president." Simply this and nothing mo e. Doubtless this is a painful theme to the senator. It recalls to him the vindicitive, unjust, and ferocious assaults made upon him during the celebrated debate of last winter by the leading forwards of his own party. Perhaps he sees celebrated debate of last winter by the leading journals of his own party. Perhaps he sees again those brutal and infamous caricatures in the journal of civilization—the pretentions organ of pieus politics, Harper's Weekly newspaper, in which the senator, with his brother senators, Logan, Ferry, and others were held up to the gaze and ridicule of the American people as foot pads, while the president stood manful guard against the burgiaries and robberies or which these senators seemed so determined. I think I may safely submit that it would have been in better taste for Senator Morton to have healed his own intestine feuds before troubling himself about those of the democratic party,

SENATOR MORTON'S PECULIAR ATTITUDE. In thus speaking of Senator Morton, I do so with great respect for his abilities and without unkindness to him personally. His position at this time with his own party is different from what it has ever been before. He attempted a revolt at the last session of congress against the power of the moneyed monopolies which have governed the republican party from the hour of its birth, and which control it to-day. He met with partial success, and then a final route and with partial success, and then a final route and overthrow. The consolidated capital was too strong for him at Washington, and he lost his great opportunity by falling to appeal to the people over the head of a subsidized executive. He surrendered, and now finds himself involved in those inconsistencies and contradictions which always assail and embarass a man who attempts to argue a question from a different standpoint than his own convictions. He appears now as rather an apologist for his atpears now as rather an apologist for his at defender of this, the best political act of his life While dwelling on the ponderous conflict which he waged last winter with the arrogant and he waged last winter with the arrogant and dominating eastern division of his party, and with the president, who belongs to this nucrative division, the Senator's breath is bated, and his tone subdued. He hurries rapidly over this field, however, and at once assumes his old mode of warfare—that of assault, in which he is always formidable, and often apparently reckless of danger to his own lines of communication or re-

WHAT SENATOR MORTON CONSIDERS "DOUBLE REPUDIATION."

Under the startling head of "a double repud! ation," he attacks the first resolution of the democratic platform of July 15. It reads as fol-

"That we are in favor of the redemption o the ave-twenty bonds in greenbacks, according to the law under which they were issued." This, then, is denounced by Senator Morton as a double repudiation. I presume he means the worst aind of repudiation. If he is right the democratic party of Indiana should be beaten at the polls; but if he is wrong, then the party that supports him is not entitled to the confidence of the people. Nobody is in favor of repudiating any portion of our national debt, and at the same time no honest man desires to pay more than we owe; no honest man desires to violate and set aside the plainly written laws of his country in order to impose burdens on the people that do not belong to them; no honest man desires to increase the tolls of the laborer in order to bestow a gratuity on the rich. I shall man desires to increase the toils of the laborer in order to bestow a gratuity on the rich. I shall therefore eite the law itself on this subject, for by it we must all be judged; the senator on the one hand and the democratic State convention, which he assaults, on the other. On the 25th of February, 1862, the first enactment on the subject of itegal tender notes, now known as greenbacks, and on the subject of five-twenty bonds, became a law. It will be found on page 345 of the 12th volume of the United States statutes. The first section of that act provides for the issuance of 150,000,000 of greenbacks, and then proceeds to define the purposes for which they may be lawfully used, in the following plain language:

"And such notes herein authorized shall be receivable in payment of all taxes, internal duties,
excises, debts and demands of every kind due to
the United States, except duties on imports; and
of all claims and demands against the United
States of every kind whatever, except for interest upon bonds and notes, which shall be paid
in coin; and shall also be lawful money and a
legal tander in payment of all debts, public and
private, within the United States, except duties
on imports and interest, as aforesaid."

private, within the United States, except duties on imports and interest, as aforesaid."

It would be an insult to your intelligence to dwell on the meaning of this clause. He who runs may not only read, but understand what he reads. These legal tender notes were good in payment of everything in the shape of an obligation to pay, public or private, with the two exceptions of duties on imports and interest upon government bonds and notes where interest was provided for. Such is the first section of the law. The second section of this same law provides for the issuance of five hundred milfions of coupon or registered bonds, due in twenty years, with the privilege to the govern-

ment of redeeming them at any time after five years, and bearing six per cent interest. This was the first installment of five-twenty bonds, and thus they were created in the same of the congressional Globe of the first session of which originated the legal tender notes and declared that with them the principal of these bonds was payable. Afterward, when the public necessities required more greenbacks and more five-twenty bonds, Congress simply extended the subject, and auth rized the secretary of the treasury to act accordingly. In the act of congress of July II, 1861, authorizing the next one hundred and fifty midlions of greenbacks, the following plain and explicit language is again to time as will adjust the volume of the current cy to the commercial and industrial wants of the congression of the country."

This is a most important proposition. It is an assertion of the power and daily of Congress to intreasure in the form the first session of the country. This is a most important proposition. It is an assertion of the power and daily of Congress to interest. This wants of the congressions is fixed and industrial wants of the congressions in the first session of the country. This is a most important proposition. It is an assertion of the power and daily of Congress to intreasure the first is an assertion of the power and daily of Congress to intreasure the first is an assertion of the power and daily of Congress to intreasure. The first is an assertion of the power and the form the first session of the congressions is for the congressions at the section of the power and the form the first session of the congress to the congressions in the first session of the congress to the congressions in the form the first session of the congressions in the form the first session of the congress to the congressions in the form the first session of the congressions and the first session of the congress to the congressions and the first session of the congressions and the first session of the congressions and the first ses

used:

"And such notes shall be receivable in payment of all loans made to the United States, and of all taxes, internal duties, excises, debts, and demands of every kind due to the United States, except duties on imports, and interest, and of all ciaims and demands against the United States, except for interest upon bonds, notes and certificates of debt or deposit."

And proceeds further to say that such notes "shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in psyment of all debts, public and private, within the United States, except duties on imports and interest, as aforestid."

And again, March 3, 1863, Congress, in authorizing a third issue of greenbacks, reiterates the above provisions in regard to their character as

izing a third issue of greenbacks, relterates the above provisions in regard to their character as legal tenders. Indeed, there never was a greenback issued without the powers above enumerated attached to I, and there never was a five-twenty bond printed and engraved by the government, which was not convertible at the pleasure of the government, after five years, into greenbacks. If it is in the power of language to make any disputed point clear, the laws of Congress have placed this proposition beyond the possibility of doubt. Yet Senator Morton does not be slitted in the face of these most explicit not hesitate, in the face of these most explicit provisions, to declare the first resolution of the democratic platform a double repudiation! Is there a man in the hearing of my voice, whether republican or democrat, who agrees with him

March 18, 1869, in which, after everyone of the five twenty bonds had been issued and sold subject to the provisions of law just cited, Congrees declared a new meaning to the contract. and thereby almost doubled the value of these bonds in the hands of their holders, and cor-respondingly increased the taxation of the With the incoming of Grant's administration, bonds to the amount of fifteen hundred millions, which were confessedly payable in currency by existing laws, were changed into gold bonds, as far, at least, as such a crime against the people can be successful; thus fraudulently adding to the national debt from 30 to 40 per cent. on every dollar we rightfully owe. A greater iniquity than this, has hardly happened in American history. A government that thus planders its own laboring masses and repudiates its own laws in order to still further gorge the rich, needs a change of officia's at its head, to use no harsher expression. Senator Morton, in speaking of this wicked piece of legislation, says:

"It may be safe, therefore, to predict that the sattlement of this governor by the set of 1860 will

settlement of this question by the act of 1860 will bot be disturbed;" and that it will not be in our power to reopen it. If this settlement is right it be disturbed, but if it is wrong, a robbery, and a felony against the people, then there should be no cessation in the popular war-fare against it until it is torn open and scattered to the winds. And I now propose to show that calls it, was made, he himself denounced it as an attempt to change the meaning of existing laws, and declared and proved conclusively that the 5-20 bonds were payable in greenbacks, and finally voted on the ayes and nays against the passage of the act declaring that they should be paid in gold. If I do this, may I not reasonably claim that the first resolution of the democratic platform in favor of the redemption of the 5-2 bonds in greenbacks, and the second resolution, demanding a repeal of the act of March 18, 1889, are established and justified by the record of the senator before he was coerced into his present unpleasant situation?

SENATOR MORTON'S VIEWS IN REGARD TO THE GOLD BILL AT THE TIME OF ITS PASS-

Under date of March 11, 1860, on pages 53, 54 and 55 of the Congressional Globe, for the first strong and determined utterances of Senator Mort on against the passage of the act in ques-tion and which he now commends as a settle-ment. He opposed it squarely on the ground that the five-twenty bonds were payable by the laws under which they were issued in green-backs and could not legally be made payable in gold except by a return to specie payment. In the discussion in the senate in speaking of the five-twenty bonds and the legal tender notes he

said:
"Are these bonds a public debt? Undoubtedly they are. Every debt that is owed by the general government is a public debt; and in this third act of congress—there is another one still—it is declared that these notes shall be applicable to the payment of all public debts, except that part of the public debt which consists of in-

terest on notes and bonds."

Again, in speaking of this, and other similar provisions in the various acis upon the subject he said: Broader, more comprehensive

explicit declarations of the law-making power I have never read; and when the first one begins with the declaration that these notes shall be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all claims and demands the law-making against the United States, of whatsoever kind, is anything left out there except the exemption which follows in the language of the statute, except interest on notes and bonds? And then this language is repeated three times afterward in different acts of congress, so that though the acts creating these bonds are silent as to how the principal of the bonds shall be paid, yet the acts creating the notes declare that they shall be applicable to the payment of every debt gainst the United States, except the interest or

This is conclusive that a little more than five This is conclusive that a little more than five years ago Senator Morton supported the first resolution of the democratic platform, which he now denounces. He believed the five-twenty bonds were made payable by law in greenbacks, and hence opposed the passage of the act making them payable in gold. He went further, He strongly stated that the measure which he now praises as a settlement was a mere stock jobbing operation. He said: "So that all the legislation of this kind is superfinous event. gislation of this kind is superfluous, except that it may operate upon the present marke value of the bonds."

And again he said:
"Sir, it is understood, I believe, that the passage of a bid of this kind would have the effect in Europe, where our financial questions are not well understood, to increase the demand; not well understood, to increase the demand; and that will enable the great operators to sell the bonds they have on hand at a profit. It is in the nature of a broker's operation. It is a 'buil' movement, intended to put up the price of bonds for the interest of the parties dealing in them. This great interest is thundering at the doors of congress and has been for many months, and by every means attempting to drive us into legislation for the purpose of making money for the great operators. That is ing money for the great operators. That is what it means and nothing eise." No doubt the senator was then right, and that

this measure did operate to the swelling of many an overgrown fortune obtained from the sorrows, miseries, privations and labors of the American people. So far, indeed, did Senator Morton carry people. So far, indeed, did Senator Morton carry his views on this subject that Senator Morril, of Vermont, rebuked him in the open Senate in

Vermont, reacked him in the open Senate in the following language:

"I am somewhat surprised at the position of the distinguished senator from Indiana, for I believe he goes further than our ancient friend Pendleton on this subject. His amendment goes so far as to pay in paper money debts that were contracted in 1848."

But nothing silenced Senator Morton in his violent opposition to the measure he now so much approves In another part of the debate he exclaimed. "And now I propound the question. It is either intended by this bill to make a new con-tract, or it is not. If it is intended to make a new contract I protest against it. We should do foul injustice to the government and the people of the United States after we have sold these bonds on an average for not more than sixty

cents on the dollar, now to make a new contract for the benefit of the holders. • • If it does not propose to make a new contract, but simply to enforce that which now exists by law, then it is unnecessary."
I shall make but brief comment on this over I shall make but brief comment on this over-walling record. I have often heretofore had occasion to observe with unfeigned amazement the rapid and complete transitions which Sena-tor Morton has made on almost every public question, from one extreme to its absolute and distinct opposite. He does so, t.o, with the air of one who expects the continued allegiance of his followers, without regard to the contradic-tions and inconsistencies through which he hur-ries them from one position to another. Why, he made a canvass of Indiana in 1868 on a plat-form calling for the redemption of the 5-29 bonds

form calling for the redemption of the 5-20 bonds in greenbacks, just as we do now. The republicans of Indiana were all in favor of it then, and are expected to be opposed to it now because Senator Morton has changed. And so now,

hands, however trifling and fallacious they may be. He seems' to concede still that the fivenotes, but seeks to escape their actual payment in that way by assuming that they must be paid in the very identical notes in existence when the bonds were issued, and in no other like kind. Even if this construction of the law was warranted, there is a clause at the close of the warranted, there is a clause at the close of the first section of the act of February 25, 1862, which is broad enough to carry it out. It is there provided that the greenbacks may be re-issued as often as the exigencies of the public may require. By so doing the same object could be accomplished in the redemption of bonds as by the issue of new legal tender notes. But no attempt has been made to thus comply with the law in the payment of the national debt, and law in the payment of the national debt, and the reduction of its interest demands. I do not believe, however, that the powers of Con-gress are so limited and feeble that, after it has declared by law in favor of paying a public debt in a certain way, it has no power to provide the means to fulfill its own enactments. I am sure that if the required legislation was in the interthat if the required legislation was in the interest of the moneyed classes it would not be long delayed, and the arguments in its favor would flood the land. It is enough however on this point that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that Congress has the constitutional power to Issue paper currency and make it a legal tender. The power of Congress being conceded its exercise should follow in the fulfillment of its promises to pay in that kind of money. The idea that the government may have the constitutional power to make a contract in behalf of the people with public creditract in behalf of the people with public credi-tors, and yet be desticate of the constitutional power to carry out the terms of the contract power locarry out the terms of the contract thus made, seems too absurd for argument. Indeed, such a technical fallacy would never be embraced by a man of the robust and vigorous intellectuality of Senator Morton except as the resort of desperation. Every lawyer who has examined the acts of tongress on this subject knows that new greenbacks may be issued, or old ones re-issued, and used in payment of the bonds under consideration.

But Senator Morton recited the act of Congress so urgent, issue or suffer to be issued more than 400,000,000 of legal tender notes. This pledge according to the senator, extends through all time, and can be broken in no contingency. The history of the world is full of such foolish finalities, One generation, thinking itself wise enough for all time to come, has often attempted to bind all the generations that were to come after it. Such amptious efforts, however, have always a spurned whenever they stood in the way they will be in this instance. If the people determine that the greenback circulation ought to beyond 400,000,000 by the gradual payment of the 5-20 bonds, or by the substitution of greenbacks for national banking currency, this pretended pledge will no more bind them than the obsolete blue laws of Connecticut now bind the enlight-

minded fathers. Let us, however, obey the law, and fulfill the law, and allow the consequences o follow in their natural order. It needs no gift of prophecy to foretell that they will be favorae to the laboring masses of the country, and ndeed to every legitimate business interest. THE PROOF SUMMED UP THAT THE 5:20 BONDS ARE PAYABLE IN GREENBACKS. If any further defense of the first and second the Fortteth Congress, page 4,178. There we find

ened de cendents of their ignorant and narrow-

Thadeus Stevens, who, as chairman of the ways and means committee, had reported all the laws I have cited on this subject, giving his con-struction of their meaning. There can be no higher authority. Speaking of the 5:20 bonds, he says:

"After they fall due they are payable in money, just as the gentleman understands 'money,' just as I understand it, just as we all understand it when we passed the law author-

izing that loan, just as it was a dozen times ex-plained upon the floor by the chairman of the committee of ways and means when called upon by gentlemen to explain what it meant, and just as the whole House agreed that it meant." and again the old republican leader ex-

"I want to say that if this loan was to be paid according to the intimation of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Ross); if I knew that any party in this country would go for paying in coin that which is payable in money, thus enhancing it one-half; if I knew there was such a latter was such a platform and such a determination this day on the part of any party, I would vote for the other side, Frank Blair and all. I would vote for no such swindle on the tax payers of this country; I would vote for no such speculation in favor of the large bondholders, the million-

aires, who took advantage of our folly in grant-in-them coin payment of interest."

Senator Sherman of Ohio, the chairman of finance in the Senate, gave a similar construcfinance in the Senate, gave a similar construc-tion to the laws under consideration, and many leaders and State conventions of the re-publican party did the same. But enough on this point. How stands this charge of repudia-tion made by Senator Morton against the democ-racy of Indiana? Who are the repudiationists? Those who abide by the law or those who repu-diate the law? I brand as the repudiators of the faith of the nation those who have broken and set at naught the laws of their country in order to obtain money unlawfully from the people. set at naught the laws of their country in order to obtain money unlawfully from the people. This form of repudiation is abroad in the land, and I know of no other that is. If these resolutions in the democratic platform favor repudiation, theu so did Senator Morton himself five years ago; so did Thaddeus Stevens, John Sherman, the republican State platforms of Ohio and Indiana in 1868, and the entire republican press of the West at that time. Add to this array of proof the further fact that Jay Cooke, then the fiscal agent of the government to sell its bonds, advertised the ten-forty bonds as the only ones whose principal, as well at interest, was payawhose principal, as well at interest, was payable in coin, and I am content to leave this branch of my subject.

A RETURN TO SPECIE PAYMENT.

From what I have already said my views in regard to the return to specie payment may be contracted, as we have seen, to be paid in paper shall have been discharged, and the business interests of the laboring masses demand, then will be the proper time for specie payments, and not before. Money is simply a means of trade amongst individuals and nations, and that kindof money which inspires and retains confidence, and is cheaply put in circulation, and easily handled is the best for the people. At this time our government currency has these requisites and there can be no object in a return to specie payment now, except to still further oppress those who are in debt, and still further enrich public and private creditors. There is much those who are in debt, and still further enrich public and private creditors. There is much talk in regard to a system of exports and imports, by which we may procure and retain a sufficient amount of gold to redeem our circulation and pay every thing in specie. This is a delusion and a snare, and misleads the people with words without meaning. There never was, and never and a snare, and misleads the people with words without meaning. There never was, and never will be, a circulating medium in a commercial and agricultural nation based on a sufficiency of gold and silver to redeem more than one dollar of it in three. The actual redemption of a paper currency in the precious metals never aid and never will take place. It is a theory in finance proclaimed to give confidence. If the confidence should arise from any other source the same end would be accomplished. Gold has no more intrinsic value than any other kind of matter. It is worth to man what it will buy for him. When Pizarro conquered Peru he shod his soldiers' horses with gold, and yet in the midst of this seeming abundance, in many instances, man and beast starved to death together. It is the seeming abundance, in many instances, man and beast starved to death together. It is the purchasing power of a commodity which gives its value, and this, paper may have as well as gold. It is the stamp of the government which gives currency to both.

increase the amount of the currency in circulation whenever the business of the country demands it.

There is scarcely a division of sentiment at this time amongst the people of the West and South on this point. There are but few public creditors in these sections to be benefited by contraction, but on the contrary millions of debtors, public and private, to be ruined by it. Senator Morton labors to show that a trifling amount of expansion has taken place. If so, its presence has not been perceived in the Mississippi Valley. In truth, whatever Senator Morton may say here, in Indiana, the national attitude of the republican party on the financial question is that of contraction, consequent low prices to the farmer and mechanic, with no diminution of their tax rates, hard times to the poor, and all who are in debt, with vast hoarded wealth in the hands of the favorites of class legislation. No candid and intelligent person will deny that this is the position of the administration now in power. American history shows no other administration so subservient to the power of money as the present. I speak not now of its low uses in bribery and corruption, but of that power which aggregated capital has always sought to exercise in its own rayor. What single demand of the capitalist has this administration decied? Not one. The demand was made, as I have shown, to forge a new meaning on the face of the contract creating our public debt, and it was granted before the present administration was a month old, thereby adding more than five hundred militons of dollars to the lawful debt. In the midst of unparalleled ministration was a month old, thereby adding more than five hundred militons of dollars to the lawful debt. In the midst of unparalleled financial distress last winter, the capital and monopolies of the country demanded the veto of a bill in which it was claimed there were some elements of popular relief, and the head of the republican organization, he republican president, promptly acceded to the demand. A hundred similar concessions might be enumerated without a single denial of such demands. What have the people, therefore, of any mands. What have the people, therefore, of any party or organization to hope for from the party now in power? It belongs to the bond-holding, manufacturing, sailroading, and banking monopolles; it has always implicitly done their bidopolles; it has always implicitly done their bidding, and is doing so now, and will continue to do so in tha future. If the people expect to break their oppressions, they must look elsewhere for help. In contrast with the principles of the party in power. I place the principles of the democratic party on all the financial, industrial, and commercial questions of the day. We challenge the popular favor because we are on the side or the well known wants and necessities of the people, senator Morton claims that the republican party is progressive. On the contrary, its only inspiration on the subject of finances, is the timid, cowardly conservatism which always emanates from hoarded and usuriously invested enpital. I once heard a senator remark that nothing was

more cowardly than one million of dollars, except two millions. When the chief pursuit of a party becomes the affectionate guardianship of the coffers of gold which it has assisted its favorthe coffers of gold which it has assisted as lavolits to amass, then its days of usefulness are numbered. That such is the attitude of the republican party to-day can not be successfully disputed. On the other hand, the democratic party puted. On the other hand, the democratic party is unencumbered by such weights, and is in a position to become again in the future, as it was once in the pass, the universally recognized party of progress, reform and development. Let it convince the people that its organization is and wishes, in layer of economy, retrenchment and purity, and in favor of a general relief against the psesent monopolles and oppressions, and, though individual members of the democratic party may in some instances mistake or fall short of their duty, though I have doubtless done so myself, yet the people with unerring instancts will rally to our flag and sustain us. It must not be supposed that the democratic party

must not be supposed that the democratic party will do anything rash on the subject of the finances or any other subject, if it should succeed to the control of the government. There are 15 years in which to convert an interest-bearing bonded debt of twelve hundred millions into a non-interest bearing circulating medium. This can be done at such interests and nuclear such discounterests. as not to derarge or unsettle the legitimate currents of trade and commerce; and when the time comes for a return to specie payment, it will require now ser statesmannip to provide for the redemption of a circulating currency in coin, than for the payment of the same amount of bonds in the same way. The difference would be that the government would redeem its outstanding obligations from the whole people, and ray them the gold instead of paying it to the

ray them the gold instead of paying it to the bondholders, in violation of the law of the con-tract. And all this can be accomplished without increasing our paper circulation beyond the demands of every true and legitimate business interest of the country; and in such increase the agricultural sections would be revived as the

parcied fields are by the welcome rain.

THE TEMPERANCE ISSUE. Senator Morton was pleased to refer in very disparaging terms to the position of the demo-ocratic party on the temperance question. It is always unfortunate for the cause of temperance when it is thrust by its ill-advised friends into a political contest. History abundantly shows that it was never advanced by political discussion or partisan legislation. Intemperance has in all ages of the world been recognized as an evil of giant proportions, but the Innumerable attempts which have been made by coereive and prohibitory laws to govern the various appetites of mankind have been, in every instance, conspicuous fallures. There is some thing repulsive to the natural and commendable spirit of personal independence in the idea of determining by law how a man shall exercise that primary right of nature to eat and drink. Mankind has submitted with impatience in all ages to such restraints on inherent rights. It is for this reason that whenever the zealots and crusaders on this subject ever the zealots and crusaders on this subject have pressed their demands too far, there has always been a reaction most damaging to the cause. The practice of temperance is an individual responsibility, and can far better be prompted by moral and intellectual culture than by cumbrous, ill-digested laws of more than doubtful constitutionality. This I believe to be the sentiment of the democratic party in Indiana. Jefferson said many years ago the to be the sentiment of the democratic party in Indiana. Jefferson said many years ago the world was governed too much; and one of the principal vices of the republican party is its restless desire to govern everybody in all concerns, both small and great, to dictate on all matters relating to every phase of human existence, assuming a paternal policy as if the people were children, calculating nothing from that sense of individual responsibility which can alone rescue a man from the destruction of evil habits. This characteristic pervades the entire policy of the republican party, and is not confined to its course on the temperance question. The democratic party has more faith in the people, individually and collectively, and hence is willing to trust them with larger liberties. We hold it within the proper scope of legislation to ple, individually and collectively, and hence is willing to trust them with larger liberties. We hold it within the proper scope of legislation to regulate the sale of spirituons liquors, but not the prohibit it. The constitution of Indiana provides that all laws shall be uniform in their operations throughout the State, and a license system, which we propose, can not fail to be so.

The republican State platform declares "in favor of such legislation as will give to a majority of the people the right to determine for themselves in their respective towns, townships, or wards, whether the sale of intoxicating liquors for use as a beverage shall be permitted therein." Literally construed, this is a declaration in favor of the power of absolute prohibition by the "local option" of towns, townships and wards. This is in direct violation of the decision of our Supreme Court in the Beebe case, as well as the provision of our constitution above cited. It goes farther, too, than even the Baxter bill; but supposing it was the intention of the framers of that resolution to express only their approval of the local option feature of that bill, yet experience has shown it to be a failure in its operations. Under the operations of that law any quantity of intoxicating liquor.

of that bill, yet experience has shown it to be a failure in its operations. Under the operations of that law any quantity of intoxicating liquor, from the smallest to the greatest, may be sold or given away without any permit at all, if the party receiving it shall only retire from the premises before he consumes it. I have seen this done with impunity under the very eyes of the well-meaning but misguided ladies who took the whole subject in hands a few months ago. No law can be worse than this for the temperance people, as well as for those who keep respectable houses for the sale of liquor; but a judicious and well regulated license law which shall protect society and derive a large income for the school fund, will be a vast improvement for both. We are willing to go before the people on the issue thus made up and abide by the result. And in this connection Senator Morton and his followers, in whom the sold. It is the stamp of the government which gives currency to both.

AN INCREASE OF CIRCULATION.

The fifth resolution of the democratic platform leclares that:

"We are in favor of such legislation from size

"We are in favor of such legislation from size

"We are in favor of such legislation from size

abide by the result. And in this connection shall be leaven of know-Nothingism yet remains, shall open a warfare on that portion of American citizens who have sought our shores from foreign countries, bringing with them their harmless and inoffensive habits and innocent recreations, the democratic party will be such that the state of the state o

behalf of equal and exact justice to all, come from whatever land they may. THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

In the course of his speech Senator Morton sixth and seventh resolutions of the democratic latform, which relate to the civil-rights bill, and the votes of the two Senators from Indiana in its favor. On the 17th of June the republican State convention met at Indianapolis, and with State convention met at Indianapolis, and with these votes fresh in every mind, indorsed Senators Morton and Pratt with "hearty approbation" for "the fidelity and ability with which they represented the sentiments of the people of the State." On the 19th of July the democratic State convention arraigned them for misrepresenting the people on this subject. Thus the issue is formed in Indiana between the two political parties. Let us examine what that issue involves. By the first section of the civil rights bill, as it passed the Senate and is now pending for the action of the House next winter, the 4,00,000 and upwards of negroes in the United States are suddenly and imperatively, by the force of the 'aw, thrust into an absolute equality with the white race "in the full and equal enjoyforce of the 'aw, thrust into an absolute equality with the white race "in the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inus, public conveyances on land and water, theaters, or other places of public amusement, and also or common schools and public in stitutions of learning or benevolence supported in whole or in part by general taxation, and of cemeteries so supported, and also institutions known as agricultural colleges endowed by the United States."

This is the most extensive and remarkable so-This is the most extensive and remarkable so-

This is the most extensive and remarkable social revolution ever attempted by legislation in the bistory of the world. It overthrows in a moment the habits and usages of more than two hundred years in this country, and establishes a radical change in the daily customs of forty millions of people. I know of no parallel to it in the his ory of the nations of the earth. Senator Morlon says it is only a prejudice which opposes this vast measure, vast in its scope, and in its results if it ever becomes a law, as the Senator ave well will. Even if this were true, and there were no higher arguments egainst it, wise statesmanship always respects the honest prejudices of the people and ealls in the aid of time, and the educating influences of experience rather than penal statutes, ruinous aid of time, and the educating influences of experience rather than penal statutes, rulnous fines, and prison houses to remove them. Cicero, Burke, Jefferson and Webster could speak with toleration of the prejudices of mankind, for after all what is a prejudice? It is nothing more than a thought, an operation of the mind on a given subject, an idea, an opinion, sometimes well founded and sometime not, either suddely conceived, or the result of long and settled habits, or of the accepted traditions of the past. In any view of the subject the legislative power of a government is never warranted in violently and suddenly assaulting such convictions and denoncing the severe penalties of high crimes against those who do not surrender them. In fact what is often denominated prejudice as o ten proves the highest instinct of wisdom. There is no doubt that it is so in regard to the different races of mankind. Wherever this instinct of wisdom, which Senator Morton calls a prejudice, has been broken down, the most lamentable and degrading consequences have all the subject of the control of the most lamentable and degrading consequences have all the subject of the control of the most lamentable and degrading consequences have all the subject of the control of the most lamentable and degrading consequences have all the subject of the control of the most lamentable and degrading consequences have all the subject of the control of the most lamentable and degrading consequences have all the subject of the control of the most lamentable and degrading consequences have all the subject of the control of stinct of wisdom, which Senator Morton calls a prejudice, has been broken down, the most lamentable and degrading consequences have followed. The pages of history are open to all, and the candid student who will read them, free from the influence of those political leaders who not only go down in the dirt on their knees, but on their very faces, will there behold foreshad owed the inevitable consequences to both races by the enactment of the civil rights bill.

I will not pages to picture to you the conse-

quences of this bill, if it becomes a law, in the hotels, the theaters, the railroad cars, the stage coaches and the steamboats. Your own minds will readily conjure up the scenes that will take place. But on the great question of education we can not be too deeply concerned in view of this revolutionary measure. Does any philosophic and fair minded person believe it a safe and judicious step, tending to the future elevation and welfars of the country, to coerce together all the children, black and white, into the same schools and colleges everywhere throughout the Uni ed States? That is the question to be answered in this canvass. Senator Morton says it Is hatred of the negro in addition to prejudice which leads us to contend against this sweeping enactment, and he affirms that we wish negro children to grow up in Ignorance and vice. In this he is grow up in Ignorance and vice. In this he is widely mistaken, and with the sixth resolution of the democratic platform before him he was not warranted in making such a statement. In

twe say: "We are in fayor of a liberal system of education for the benefit of the negro as well as the
white children of Indiana, but are opposed to
the mixture of the black and white races in our
schools or other educational institutions."

The Senator contends that a system of separate
schools, as here advocated by the democratic
party, for the liberal education of both races,
will not reach every isolated negro family in
the United States. Perhaps not, nor is every
white family supplied with the advantages of
schools. All that can be expected is, that the
great bulk of our population, black and white,
shall be afforded such advantages. A separate
school system for each race will accomplish this,
for the great mass of negro population is consolidated in the South, and there is hardly a
school district in that entire section in which a

school district in that entire section in which a negro school could be supported. And in the North the negroes have generally gathered together in settlements, so that their separate schools could be maintained by the liberal assistance which may be extended to them. It thus appears that the negroes is reshaulted. pears that the negro race is perhaps as well lo-cated to receive the benefit of separate schools as the white race, so widely scattered over the States and Territories, and beyond the mount-ains and rivers of the far west. They are in a situation, therefore, to be educated as a race in their own schools and them to send for the teach their own schools, and then to send forth teach ers to enlighten the r remote and scattered peo-pie as the white race does. This course can be pursued with blessings to all and injury to none, while the adoption of the civil rights bill will break down the common schools of most of the Southern States, drive the white children from them in others, and work the same results in many parts of the North. The rich man can and will send his children to private schools or hire teachers at home, while the poor must educate their children at

poor must educate their children at the public schools with the blacks or not at all senator Morton indulged in the sollowing sneer "The old bug-bear of social equality which

"The old bug-bear of social equality which has so often done service in the cause of the democracy is again paraded to affright the souls of those who do not feel entirely confident of their social position."

I do not mean to be disrespectful to the Se nator when I say that those who are opposed to the civil, rights bill are quite as secure in their social relations as he can possibly be in his, and that thousands of humble laborers are as serupulous in regard to the social and educational associations of their children as they would be if they occupied the high station he does. And I believe this is as true of the voters of his party as it is of mine.

would be if they occupied the high station he does. And I believe this is as true of the voters of his party as it is of mine.

But Senator Morton finds it quite natural for the democratic party to be opposed to the civil r ghts hill because we were opposed to the bestowal of negro suffrage. He says that the opponents of this bill "resisted the civil rights of the negro at every step and deciared that to confer upon him the right of suffrage would be the dishonor and destruction of the republic." In uttering this sentence Senator Morton evidently hopes the people have forgotten that after the close of the war he sounded the key-note of opposition to negro suffrage in Indiana as he has since done in its favor. He opposed it both on constitutional grounds and on the general grounds of public policy. In November, 1866, he thus forcibly stated the constitutional objection in his message to the Indiana Legislature:

"The subject of suffrage is, by the national constitution, expressly referred to the determination of the several States, and it can not be taken from them without a violation of the letter and spirit of that instrument."

No proposition was ever more correct than this and yet it was not long until the Senator was engaged in violating, according to his own doctrine, the letter and spirit of the constitution by taking away from the several States the right to determine the subject of suffrage in their midst. On the grounds of public policy he stated his objections to negro suffrage in the following forcible manner:

"It is a fact so manifest that it should not be called in question by any that a paople just

stated his objections to negro sumrage in the following forcible manner:

"It is a fact so manifest that it should not be called in question by any that a people just emerging from the barbarism of slavery are not qualified to become a part of our political system, and take part not only in the government of themselves and neighbors, but of the whole United States. So far from believing that negro suffrage is a remedy for all our national ills, I doubt whether it is a remedy for any, and rather believe that its enforcement by Congress would be more likely to subject the negroes to a merciless persecution than to confer upon them any substantial benefit."

By what right a man with such a record as this denounces others for entertaining the same views I must leave to political casuists more skillful than myself. The only thing of which I think Senator Morton can justly complain, in this connection, is that the democratic party has a tendency to stand by its convictions, and can not change with the winds, as he can. But the democratic party does not need to justify itself by the utterances of the senator, however conclusive, on the subject of negro suffrage. I only quote him against himself to new how

unreliable has been his leadership to men of principle. We appeal to the deplor-able condition of the South for the Justinession vinces, plundered cities, and deserted fields are our witnesses. The Senator says, in his speech here a week ago, that "democracy in the South means a conflict of races." Even if this were true, which it is not, who would be to blame for it so much as the Senator himself. In his speech at Richmond, Ind., he proclaimed that the establishment of negro suffrage and negro State governments in the South "would result in a war of races." and as soon as convenient afterwards proceeded to assist in doing that very thing. If the war of races is there it is his own handlwork.

An appeal is now made by the Senator to the

An appeal is now made by the Senator to the general principles of humanity and natural right in behalf of his course on the civil rights bill. This coming from the leader of a party which has openly refused to permit the China-man to even naturalize in this country sounds hollowand insincere. I once witnessen a debate in the Senate of the United States in which Mr. Sumner, who was always consistent, labored to have our naturalization laws so amended as to include the thrifty and intelligent emigrants from China. He was resisted by every republican Senator and member in Congress from the Partie coest and by a sufficient number from republican Senator and member in Congress from the Pacific coast and by a sufficient number from other States to defeat him. It seems therefore that there are natural rights for the negro, but not for some other kinds of people. Even Newton Booth, the accomplished governor of California, can not discover the natural right of a Chinaman to become a citizen of the United States. The Chinaman is as much superior to the negro as the American is to the Chinaman. Is it prejudice or what that causes the republican party to shut the door in his face while preaching But Senator Morton grows indignant over the assertion in the democratic platform, that the civil rights bill is an attempt on the part of the federal government to take control of the chools and other institutions therein named.

"The bill does not attempt to take control of all the schools, churches, hotels, ratiroads, steamboats, theaters and graveyards on the part of the government of the United States, but leaves that control precisely where it is now," He arraigns the democratice convention for gross ignorance in asserting the contrary. A little further examination of this bill, however, will determine the disputed point. The second section provides that any person violating any of the provisions of the first section, or who fray incite others to violate it, shall "forfet and pay the sum of \$500 to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in an action on the case with full costs." But it does not step at this. It is further provided by this section that any person, whether landlord, conduction that any person, whether landlord, conduc-tor of a railroad, captain of a steamboat, slage driver or schoolmaster, who shall discriminate in the slightest degree between a negro and a white man or woman, shall be deemed guilty of be fined not more than be imprisoned not more \$1,000, or than one shall year." If the declaration by aw shall be conducted in a certain way under the enormous penalties of civil damages, penal fines and long imprisonment be not the asser-tion of a "control" over them, it is more than useless to predicate an argument on the universally accepted force of logic and the meaning of words. The remaining sections of this most ous bill are engaged in fixing the jurisd for the trial of offenders, growing out of a violasively; and in especially authorizing and requiring the district attorneys, marsha's and commissioners of the United States "to insti-tute proceedings against every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such court of the United States, or territorial court, as by law has Here this issue, most momentous and

reaching in its consequences to the American people, may be safely left for their decision. They will not be easily persuaded that the federal government has the constitutional power termine the character of guests to be adto determine the character of guests to be admitted by a landlord; the manner in which passengers on steamboats or stage coaches shall be seated and accommodated; the regulation of public schools, and the right of admissions to colleges, and in what graveyards neople shall be buried when they die. They will rather conclude that such an usurpation of power has not been before attempted since the foundation of the government, and that it makes respectable the worst forms of federalism.

the worst forms of federalism. CHEAP TRANSPORTATION.

obvious means by which it can be secured. Whenever the chief articles which enter into the construction and equipment of railroads duties, the problem, now so troublesome, will be more than half solved. But while the manufacturers of iron and steel are protected in charging nearly two prices for what they sell, the farmers may be sure that it finally falls on them in the shape of heavy rates for transportation. If railroads have to be expensively built on account of an exhorbitant protective tariff, it follows as certainly as one day follows another that the builders will get their money back in turn from their custom their money back in turn from their customers, the people. The first step therefore toward cheap transportation is to break down the huge and oppressive monopoly of the present tariff, and place it on a basis of revenue, and on the side of the people. As it stands now it enriches the few and impoverishes the many, and in no way more effectively than in the expensive transportation of the products of your farm.

Another means of cheapening transportation, now much discussed, is the construction of water lines of communication from the Mississippi Valley to the Atlantic scaboard. This is most desirable, whenever it can be done with a proper regard for ecanomy, and in strict super-

most desirable, whenever it can be done with a proper regard for ecanomy, and in strict subordination to the constitution. The canal and the river are the cheap thoroughfares for produce. The outlay is not great in the construction of the one, or the improvement of the other. The projected canal from the mouth of the Kanawha to the James river is justly attracting great attention. By it the greaters of the Ohio and contention. By it the waters of the Ohio, and con-sequently the Mississippi and all its vast tribu-taties, will be connected with ocean nazigation at Norfolk. Va., by a far shorter line than any that now exists. Compe-engineers have pronounced the practicable, and at no distant day will be Competent practicable, and at no distant day will be completed, if the great interests of agriculture are properly considered. Another work of similar character is under contemplation through Georgia to the seaboard. It has every argument in its support that should insure success. An extensive improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi, that greatest of all water lines of transportation, has also been elaborately discussed. All these questions should be thoroughly considered, and intelligently understood by the laboring masses. In them, and like enterprises, the most vital interests of the producers are involved. And in the course of time they prises, the most vital interests of the producers are involved. And in the course of time they will settle the farmers' issue of cheap transportation much more safely, and fairly and more in accordance with natural laws than any action of Congress that will ever be obtained.

The exposures of corruption in the republican party have been so extensive and startling in the last two years that the only apology its lead-ers now make is that they themselves have de-tected their own swindlers. This is the plea made here by Senator Morton, and for which he

laimed great merit.

He did not deny that the people had been outdishonest republican officials, but He did not deny that the people includes, but raged by dishonest republican officiats, but claimed in repeated phrase that the party had been for a good while past in a constant state of "self-examination," in which it had made the most ghastly and horrible discoveries of its own impurity. The people are not so much concerned as to how frauds are discovered as they are in regard to the fact that they exist. The fact that a man has a fatal disease preving on him, is more important to him than the name fact that a man has a fatal disease preying on him, is more important to him than the name of the physician who discovers it. If it be true, as Senator Morton virtually admits, and the history of the times abundantly proves, that the administration of the government in all its brapehes by the republican party has become so corrupt that every examination, whether self-made or not, reveals immense official dishonesties, and that it takes the time of one-half its leaders to investigate the other half, then, indeed, has the time come for the people to rise, irrespective of party, and sweep the Augean stables. But poor as the piea of the Senator is on this point, he is not even entitled to its benefits, for it is not sustained by the facts. He enumerates the Credit Mobilier, Sanborn, and District of Columbia francis as discoveries made by the republican party, and for which punishments were meted out to the guilty. Nothing could be more spurious than such a claim. When the impartial history of these times shall be written, the credit of arresting the public attention to the gigantic frauds of the Credit Mobilier Company will be awarded to Horace Greeley, who in his speech

[Continued on fourth page.]